

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 SP-02 USIA-06 AID-05 EB-08
NSC-05 TRSE-00 SS-15 STR-04 OMB-01 CEA-01 COME-00
CU-02 DHA-02 OES-06 ACDA-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 /105 W
-----221324Z 065980 /46

R 221132Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3693

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MONTEVIDEO 1533

FOR ASST SECRETARY TODMAN FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, UY

SUBJ: THE PRESIDENT'S OAS SPEECH

REFS: A) STATE 084912, B) MONTEVIDEO 1499, C) MONTEVIDEO 1511

1. MVD 1499 AND PREVIOUS REPORTED HOST COUNTRY REACTION TO THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH. MVD 1511 CONTAINS COMMENTS MADE BY PRESIDENT APARICIO MENDEZ TO ME DURING MY FAREWELL CALL ON HIM YESTERDAY. WHAT FOLLOWS ARE MY OBSERVATIONS AS REQUESTED PARA 8 REFTEL A. SINCE, AS REPORTED PREVIOUSLY, THE ASPECT OF OVERWHELMING CONCERN TO URUGUAY IS HUMAN RIGHTS, I WILL CONFINE MYSELF TO THAT SUBJECT.

2. I THOUGHT THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE POLICY AND ITS MORAL CONCEPT AS EXPRESSED BY THE PRESIDENT SET AN APPROPRIATE TONE AND, AS WE HAVE REPORTED, THIS HAS BEEN MOST FAVORABLY COMMENTED ON HERE IN URUGUAY. I ALSO THOUGHT, AS STATED IN STATE 084912, THAT REAFFIRMATION OF THE COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS WITH A "DELIBERATE EMPHASIS ON NON-PUNITIVE AND MULTILATERAL MEASURES, INCLUDING ADHERENCE TO THE

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AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS" REFLECTS A VERY SOUND DECISION AND CONCEPT. TO US THIS HAS ALWAYS SEEMED THE BEST APPROACH TOWARD MAKING THE POLICY EFFECTIVE, BY MEANS WHICH HAVE A CHANCE OF PRODUCING GOOD RESULTS RATHER THAN COUNTERPRODUCTIVE REACTION.

3. AS YOU KNOW, I HAVE CONSISTENTLY TAKEN THE POSITION

THAT PUNITIVE MEASURES, SANCTIONS, ARBITRARY DEADLINES, ETC., WHICH ARE OFTEN REFLECTED IN "AMENDEMENTS," WHATEVER THEIR LOFTY INTENTIONS, INEVITABLY COMPLICATE THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND GENERALLY ARE DESTINED TO PRODUCE ADVERSE REACTIONS RATHER THAN POSITIVE RESULTS. I THEREFORE AM EXTREMELY ENCOURAGED BY THIS "DELIBERATE EMPHASIS" AND THE EVIDENCE WHICH I HAVE SEEN OF THIS IN TESTIMONY RECENTLY MADE BY YOURSELF AND BY MS. DERIAN.

4. THE URUGUAYANS, AS WELL, HAVE NOTED THIS AND ARE ENCOURAGED TO BELIEVE THAT THIS KIND OF APPROACH MAY LEAD TO A REPAIR OF OUR RELATIONS WHICH, ON THE SURFACE AT LEAST, HAVE BEEN AFFECTED ADVERSELY BY A SERIES OF ACTS BEGINNING WITH THE ADOPTION OF THE KOCH AMENDMENT. FOR EXAMPLE, IN HIS COMMENTS ON THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH, FOREIGN MINISTER ROVIRA TOOK SPECIAL NOTE OF THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS ON PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE PROGRAMS AND SAID THAT URUGUAY WOULD WELCOME A GREATER VISITATION OF PEOPLE IN ALL WALKS OF LIFE, INCLUDING "SCIENTISTS, SOCIOLOGISTS, HISTORIANS, JURISTS, JOURNALISTS, CONGRESSMEN, SENATORS, AND DIPLOMATS" WHO COULD FORM THEIR OWN IMPRESSIONS OF THIS COUNTRY AND THUS CONTRIBUTE TO THE USG'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE TRUE PICTURE. I NOTE THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD BEEN THINKING ALONG THESE LINES PRIOR TO HIS COMMENTS ON THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AS THIS IS EXACTLY WHAT HE TOLD MS. DERIAN WHEN SHE WAS HERE.

5. AS I HAVE SO OFTEN SAID, WHAT THE USG NEEDS TO DO IS TO OBTAIN AN AGREED PERCEPTION OF THE URUGUAYAN REALITY, THE
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GOOD AND THE BAD. I HAVE BEEN VERY CONCERNED THAT MUCH OF WHAT APPEARS TO BE THE U.S. ATTITUDE REFLECTS UNCRITICAL ACCEPTANCE OF AN IMAGE OF URUGUAY AS PUT FORWARD BY ITS CRITICS, AND NOT THE MORE BALANCED PERCEPTION REPORTED BY THIS EMBASSY. YET, I AND ALL MY COLLEAGUES BELIEVE THAT WHAT WE HAVE REPORTED IS FAR CLOSER TO THE TRUTH; AND THIS, OF COURSE, DOES NOT IN ANY WAY EXCLUDE THE FACT THAT THERE HAVE BEEN HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN THIS COUNTRY AS THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF ADMITTED TO ME IN MY FAREWELL CALL ON HIM YESTERDAY (REFTEL C).

6. A GOOD WAY TO START TOWARD SEEKING AN AGREED PERCEPTION WOULD BE TO RESPOND POSITIVELY AND SOON TO THE PUBLIC OVERTURE BY THE URUGUAYAN GOVERNMENT AND, AS WELL, TO RESPOND TO THE APPROACH MADE THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS NOW PENDING ANSWERS. I PERSONALLY BELIEVE THAT WHEREAS URUGUAY DOES NOT IN ANY WAY SEEM PREPARED AT THE MOMENT TO SUBMIT TO INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION (ALTHOUGH I DO NOT EXCLUDE THAT WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME THEY MAY BE

MOVED IN THAT DIRECTION AGAIN) THE VISITATION OF OBJECTIVE REPRESENTATIVES OF CONGRESS, ACCOMPANIED BY JOURNALISTS, WOULD BE WELL RECEIVED HERE AND WOULD PUT THE URUGUAYANS ON THE SPOT TO BE VERY OPEN IN TERMS OF WHAT THEY SHOW TO THEM.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MONTEVIDEO 1533

THIS, AT LEAST, COULD BE EXPLORED THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS AND I THINK IT COULD BE PRODUCTIVE. SUCH A GROUP, HOWEVER, OUGHT TO BE OPEN-MINDED AND NOT COME TO FORTIFY PRECONCEPTIONS OF EITHER EXTREME. UP TO NOW, WE HAVE NOT HAD THIS AS THOSE FEW MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO HAVE COME HAVE REFLECTED A POINT OF VIEW WHICH WAS JUST WHAT THE URUGUAYANS WANTED TO HEAR (AND THIS WAS NOT HELPFUL) WHILE THOSE MOST VOCAL WITH REGARD TO URUGUAY ON THE OTHER SIDE (AND WHO HAVE NEVER BEEN HERE) SEEM TO BE COMMITTED AS WELL TO A PRECONCEPTION WHICH HAD BEEN HANDED TO THEM BY CRITICS AND WITNESSES HAVING HIGHLY INTENSE PERSONAL MOTIVATIONS.

7. WHAT I AM REALLY SAYING IS THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL BASIS FOR GOOD RELATIONS WITH URUGUAY REMAINS SOUND EVEN THOUGH IT IS CLEAR THAT FOR AN UNCERTAIN PERIOD AHEAD THIS ONCE DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY WILL BE REULED BY A GOVERNMENT LARGELY MILITARY OR AT LEAST MILITARY DOMINATED. BUT EVEN UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE QUALITY OF URUGUAYAN SOCIETY AND ITS PEOPLE IS SUCH THAT THE U.S. WOULD DO WELL TO COUNT IT A FRIEND. WE CAN, I AM CONVINCED, REPAIR OUR RELATIONS WITH URUGUAY AND MAKE A REAL CONTRIBUTION TO HUMAN RIGHTS BETTERMENT IN THIS COUNTRY IF WE WOULD BEGIN TO ACT ALONG THE LINES THAT THIS EMBASSY HAS BEEN

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RECOMMENDING IN ITS OFFICIAL COMMENTS, INCLUDING MOST
RECENTLY IN THE PARM. THE STAGE IS CLEARLY SET FOR
THIS, INCLUDING THE NEW KIND OF EMPHASIS BEING MADE IN
WASHINGTON, AND I HOPE WE CAN BEGIN BY POSITIVE ACTION TO
ACHIEVE BOTH OF THESE LAUDABLE ENDS.
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Message Attributes

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